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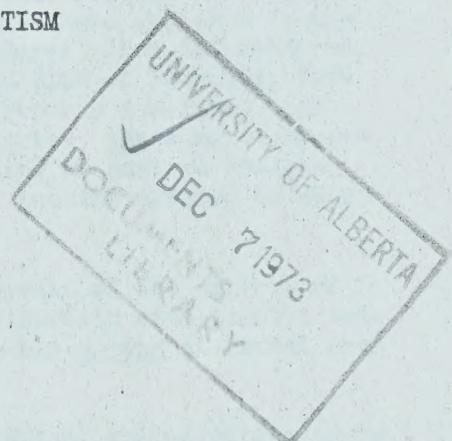
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PREJUDICE AND ANTI-SEMITISM



Report No.122

22 May 1948  
ICD OPINION SURVEYS  
OMGUS            APO 742  
Berlin            Germany

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INTRODUCTION ...

In December 1946, a large-scale study was made by Opinion Surveys Branch, Information Control Division, of the incidence of anti-Semitic attitudes among the German people under American control. The introduction to a report issued by this Branch presenting the findings (Report # 49: "Anti-Semitism in the American Zone") stated: "Recurrent reports have been made, during the period of the occupation, of an increase in anti-Semitic feeling among the German people." Since the issuance of that report, the same situation has held. Reports of overt acts have appeared in the press continually -- e.g. within a few days: from Offenbach on the 11th of February, from Munich on the 11th of February, from Eschwege on the 13th of February. The reports specified acts such as the desecration of Jewish cemeteries, smashing of window panes in Jewish shops and houses, defacing of posters designed to challenge anti-Semitic dispositions, insults offered to Jews on the streets, and so on.\*

Such expressions could of course be a result of the efforts of fanatics. Thus they tell us only about certain anti-Semitic outbreaks, not anything necessarily about the spread of racial prejudice or anti-Semitism.

To ascertain whether these occurrences reflect anti-Semitism among the people as a whole, and if so, to measure both the spread and its incidence within certain groups in the population, ICD Opinion Surveys repeated the study in April 1948. For technical reasons only seven of the eight questions previously reported were again asked of a cross-section of the residents of the American Zone and Berlin. In this study, interviewing was also carried out in Land Bremen. Moreover, the sample as a whole was enlarged in scope so as to include persons 15 years of age and older. In the comparison with the previous results, which sampled only people 18 or more years old, identical age groups were sorted out. Other data in this report represent the entire population 15 years or older.

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\*By way of historical note it should be kept in mind that there are very few Jews in Germany today. Whereas in 1933 there were about 503,000 Jews in Germany (0.8% of the total population), today there are less than 20,000 of these, while about 130,000 more Jews are found in DP camps. But incidence of anti-Semitism, or its persistence in a population, can be said to have almost nothing to do with the size of the minority group which is made the "scapegoat." The scapegoat group seemingly must have at least these two characteristics: there must be some members present in the population and the group must not be powerful enough to defend itself in any practical sense.

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SUMMARY ...

1. A comparison of two detailed studies of anti-Semitism in December 1946 and April 1948 reveals that overt anti-Semitism has not increased during the past year. Indeed, it has decreased slightly. Marked lessening of anti-Semitism in Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden is observed. However, some worsening of the situation can be seen in Bavaria.
2. BUT, at the same time, racist attitudes — the basis of anti-Semitism — have increased sharply throughout the Zone.
3. Indications are that there is a movement toward the substitution of new "scapegoats" (Negroes, Russians) for prejudice against Jews.
4. An objective estimate of population division (overcoming possible objections to the wording of the questions used) shows that about two in ten persons are clearly anti-Semitic, about three in ten are indifferent or unconcerned, and just over one-half the people can be termed "not anti-Semitic."
5. Group differences parallel those found in the early report — women, the poorly educated, rural people are more likely to be anti-Semitic than men, the well-educated or city-dwellers.
6. BUT, more detailed analysis reveals that locale is even more important than education in shaping outlooks on this issue. The climate of opinion is more conducive to anti-Semitism in some areas of Germany than it is in others. The pattern is shown by Regierungs-bezirke.
7. Knowledge reduces prejudice. But parents of German youth are more frequently carriers of prejudice than are childless couples. German youth (ages 15-19) show more anti-Semitism than other age groups. Apparently, German youth is not getting needed education at home or in school.



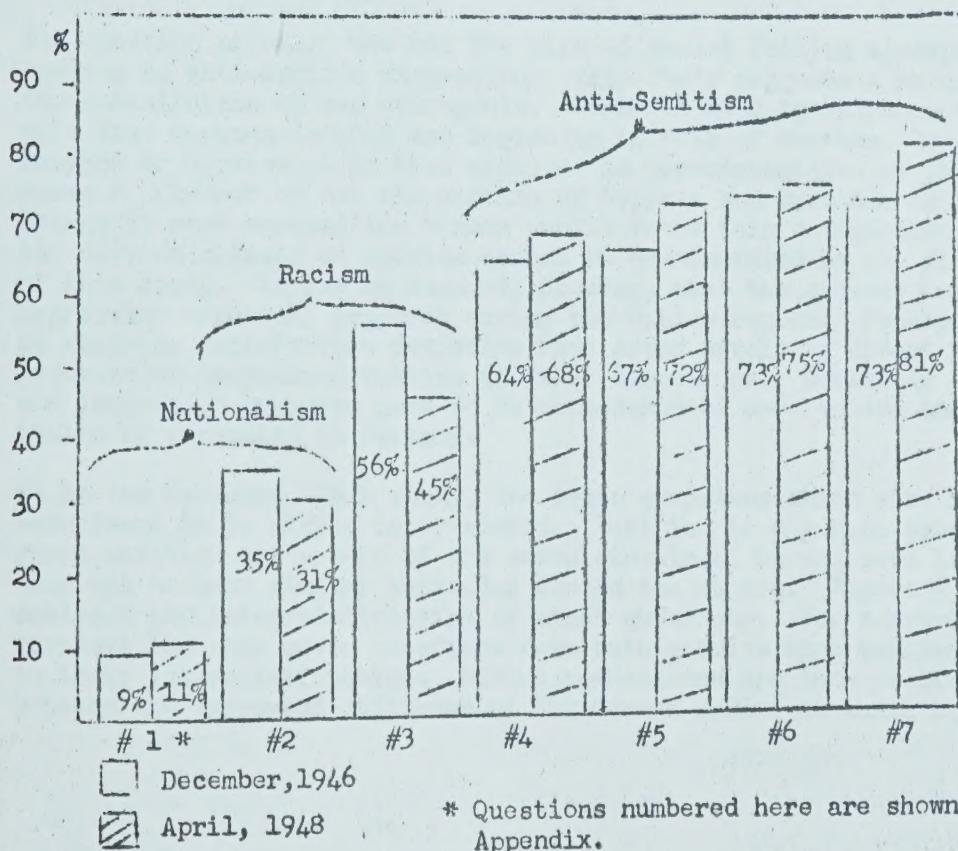
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DETAILED FINDINGS ...

...Changes Between 1946 and 1948

Both in December 1946, and April, 1948, seven identical questions were put to cross-sections of the adult population (18 years or older) in the American Zone.\* When results of the seven questions are totalled, it appears that one per cent less of the total population now express anti-Semitism, as compared with a year ago. Also on the four questions in which the term "Jew" was used, there is an increase of 5 per cent in the number rejecting an anti-Semitic position. But on the two questions testing racial discrimination, expressed bias has increased by 7.5 percent.

Clearly, overt anti-Semitism has not increased during the past year; indeed it has decreased slightly. At the same time, racist attitudes which are the basis of anti-Semitism have increased. The chart below shows these results compared question by question. (The numbers of the questions, shown at the bottom of the chart, refer to the questions given in full in the appendix.)

Rejection of Nationalism,  
Racism and Anti-Semitism



\* In the April 1948 study, people were asked to indicate whether they felt "very strongly" or only "fairly strongly" about the point of view which they expressed in reply to the questions. Thus the method of recording responses was changed between the two studies without, however, damaging the possibility of comparing the two results.



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Three of the questions asked, as shown in the chart above, deal with nationalist and racist outlooks. These three questions were also asked in April 1946 as well as in December 1946. The table below demonstrates sharply that many more consistent "racists" were found in the 1948 study than in either of the two previous studies. More, the change, sharp as it was between the two 1946 studies, seems to have accelerated as time has passed. A projection of the trend from the two 1946 studies would only have been misleading insofar as it would not have predicted quite as much increase in racism as seems to be the fact.

#### Changes in Nationalist and Racist Sentiment

	April 1946	December 1946	April 1948
Nationalist and Racist on:			
All 3 questions	3%) 17%	5%) 36%	43%) 74%
Two questions	14	31	31
One question	48	59	23
None of the questions	35	5	3
	100%	100%	100%

The question arises: How has the rise of racist feeling accompanied the decline of anti-Semitic expression? This study suggests a movement toward the substitution of new scapegoats. Comments made by respondents indicate that Germans in 1948 are beginning to talk of Negroes, Russians, Balkans or Gypsies — in that order — as representatives of the "inferior races." Whether or not the mention of Negroes and Russians as inferior beings is made because the German public feels this designation reflects the current climate of opinion cannot be demonstrated by the findings of this study. It can be assumed, however, that the grounds for such expression were well prepared during the Hitler regime. Perhaps efforts to suppress anti-Semitic prejudice have acted merely to divert the pressure of prejudiced feeling to other directions. Certainly fundamental and long-range measures need to be considered to move toward the elimination of prejudice in Germany.

As in the December 1946 study, the seven questions which were repeated were found to be highly interrelated. That is, if a person took a given attitude on certain of the seven questions, he was more likely than not to have similar attitudes toward the others. Report # 69 analysed the interrelationships of eight questions. For comparison purposes the same seven questions from both studies were analysed as to their interrelationships. Direct comparisons are thus possible between the expressed attitudes of the German public at these two periods.

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## REPORT

The table below shows some group comparisons over the "scale" ranging from an attitude of little bias to one of intense anti-Semitism. It should be kept in mind that the groups are cumulative — Group I plus another biased attitude makes Group II, Group II plus a third biased attitude makes Group III, and so on, until in Group V the seven attitudes are all present.

	Group:					I	II	III	IV	V
	Little Bias	Nationalists	Racists	Anti-Semites	Intense Anti-Semites					
American Zone										
December, 1946	20%	1%	22%	21%	18%... 100%					
April, 1948	21	20	26	19	14					
Bavaria										
December, 1946	22	19	23	19	17					
April, 1948	17	19	26	21	17					
Hesse										
December, 1946	19	18	23	23	17					
April, 1948	28	22	27	15	8					
Wuerttemberg-Baden										
December, 1946	17	18	20	25	20					
April, 1948	21	18	26	18	17					
Munich										
December, 1946	24	16	16	18	26					
April, 1948	20	25	22	18	15					
Frankfurt										
December, 1946	20	19	31	26	4					
April, 1948	31	28	26	12	3					
Stuttgart										
December, 1946	21	26	17	26	10					
April, 1948	25	29	27	16	3					
Nuremberg										
December, 1946	45	14	23	12	6					
April, 1948	25	20	32	21	2					

Marked improvement is shown in this table in two Laender — Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden. But this improvement is only relative since at least a fifth of the Hessian people may be called "anti-Semitic," and another fourth can be called "racist." In Wuerttemberg-Baden even more people fall into these two groups: one-third and one-fourth, respectively. In Bavaria, on the other hand, the situation has slightly worsened.

Within the four major cities, only Nuernberg residents can be said to demonstrate anti-Semitic outlooks more frequently. Within the other three cities much less frequently are anti-Semites found. However, Munich remains as the one among the four cities whose population is relatively more prejudiced than is the population of any of the other three large communities.



### ... An Objective Test of Distribution of Anti-Semitism

As stated before, the recent 1948 study included a record of the intensity of feeling on the various issues posed to the cross-section population. The purpose of differentiating replies this way was to provide the possibility of an objective and invariant estimate of the cutting-point between the group which can be called "anti-Semitic" and the group which can be said to be "non-anti-Semitic".\* This analysis has the virtue that objections can be overcome which refer to "biased" or "loaded" questions. For, the interrelationship of the replies to the seven questions is of such a nature that if one grants that the questions deal with attitudes toward anti-Semitism, then it can be said that no matter how these questions may be worded, the discrimination into groups of "anti-Semites" and "non-anti-Semites" would remain the same, all other things remaining constant.

The table below shows the results of this analysis. It shows a "zero-point," that is, an estimate of absolute division of the population into the two groups. Divided thus, the German population can be stated as one composed of about 72% non-anti-Semites and about 28% anti-Semites,

But a more detailed look at the findings indicates that it is probably more useful to consider the population as separated into three groups. There would be, then, about 55% of the population which is not anti-Semitic, about 27% which lies in the middle and is indifferent or relatively unconcerned about the issue, and about 18% which is clearly anti-Semitic. (The shape of the curve indicates one final qualification — The number of indifferent people may be actually as much as 50%. This increase in estimated frequency involves a decrease in estimate of non-anti-Semites to 32%.)

Objective Estimate of Frequency  
of Anti-Semitism in Amzon

Zero-point	72%
Anti-Semitic	18
In-between	27
Non-anti-Semitic	55

\* The Cornell technique for scale and intensity analysis (Dr. L. Guttman) has been followed here. See appendix for basic table.



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Group Differences ...

As reported a year ago, anti-Semitism is more prevalent in certain population groups than in others. Women, the poorly educated, rural people, and Protestants are more likely to have racial bias than are men, the well-educated, city dwellers and Catholics.

However, the structure of anti-Semitism is a complex one, as further analysis shows. Thus, while education and place of residence influence the extent of prejudice, the two taken in combination show that place is more important than education. Also, though city people tend to show less anti-Semitism than country people, the amount of bias varies from city to city.

Moreover, examination of the Regierungsbezirke shows wide variation. In Württemberg, for example, more prejudice is evinced than in Baden — even when education is taken into account.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the climate of opinion is more conducive to anti-Semitism in some areas of Germany than it is in others. This may result partly from historical causes. It may partly reflect a leadership pattern. (This latter appears to be indicated in Kassel where the better educated men — by implication the leadership group — are more anti-Semitic than the poorly educated.) In any case, over and above the influencing factors of sex, education, rural-urban differences, and so on, residence in some areas in and of itself appears to have a biasing effect in favor of an anti-Semitic outlook.

The following tables compare the attitudes in the large cities of the Zone, and in Berlin, and also in the Regierungsbezirke.

GROUPS

	I	II	III	IV	V	Gradient Score*
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Frankfurt	29%	29%	28%	11%	3% - 100%	73.5%
Berlin	26	29	31	11	3	76.5
Stuttgart	23	28	28	18	3	87.0
Bremen	26	20	31	16	7	94.0
Nuremberg	25	18	31	23	3	95.0
Munich	19	25	22	19	15	117.5

Regierungsbezirke:

Niederbayern u. Oberpfalz	11%	15%	26%	23%	25%	154.5%
Oberbayern	17	18	22	22	21	138.0
Württemberg	19	18	24	21	18	129.0
Schwaben	20	21	22	19	18	124.5
Ober- u. Mittelfranken	18	20	27	22	13	120.0
Kassel	20	19	27	25	9	113.5
Unterfranken	21	16	32	23	8	110.0
Baden	23	22	28	17	10	103.0
Darmstadt	27	25	26	11	11	93.5
Wiesbaden	35	21	27	11	6	77.5

\*The Gradient Score is presented in order to give a more clear idea of the position of the various groups in the anti-Semitism scale. It is arrived at by giving weights to the percentages according to the number of anti-Semitic replies represented in Groups II to V. According to this score, if there were absolutely no prejudice among a population group, the score would be zero. If everyone in the group were completely anti-Semitic, the score would be 300.



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## OTHER GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Some apparently disparate findings are significant and related in their implications.

- ... Among family groups, people with children tend to express more racial bias than childless couples. Prejudice is most prevalent among single people, probably, as the next paragraph makes clear, because they are mostly younger people.
- ... Young people (ages 15-19) show more anti-Semitism than any other age group. People from 40-49 years express the least amount.
- ... There is a high correlation between information and racial bias. On an information scale,<sup>#</sup> there is a steady and parallel progress from "least informed-most biased" to "best informed-least biased." This supports the findings reported last year that the "most racially prejudiced groups are also the least critical, the least well-informed, the least interested in political affairs and problems."
- ... Expellees from the East (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc.) do not differ from "native" Germans in a desirable direction. Rather, the expellees themselves seem to be as infected with anti-Semitism as is everyone else.
- ... Trade union members are less often anti-Semitic than are non-members. Among members or non-members, social class differences do not appear. But women members are not greatly more intolerant than are men who are members, although women members are much more often tolerant than women who are not members.

The implications of these findings appear clear: Knowledge, that is to say education, reduces prejudice. German youth apparently are not getting this education. They appear unlikely to get it in their homes. A major new force in the society — the expellees — will not provide it. There is indication that membership in trade union groups does have an "educative" effect.

The figures supporting this interpretation follow on the next page:

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\* The information score was based on four questions asking for the names of four foreign capitals: Paris, Madrid, Stockholm, and Belgrade. People who knew none were given a score of zero, people who knew all four of course scored 4. Most people knew Paris, fewest knew Belgrade. It goes without saying that these questions merely test information and are not significant per se. What appears to be significant is that people who know the right answers have a measurably broader frame of reference than those who do not.



R E S U P

	GROUPS					Gradient Score
	I	II	III	IV	V	
<u>Family Groups:</u>						
Married: no children	27%	20	27	17	9-100%	98.0%
Married: with children	21%	20	25	20	14	117.0
Single	15%	19	20	26	20	141.5
<u>Age Groups:</u>						
15-17 years	14%	14	21	29	22	152.0
18-19 "	16%	15	16	32	21	150.5
20-29 "	16%	23	23	22	16	126.5
30-39 "	17%	20	25	23	15	126.0
40-49 "	26%	21	25	16	12	103.5
50-59 "	25%	18	31	13	13	105.0
60 years and over	18%	18	29	19	16	124.0
<u>Information Groups:</u>						
Score 0	6%	11	26	25	32	177.5
Score 1	15%	16	25	24	20	141.0
Score 2	18%	20	28	19	15	121.0
Score 3	24%	22	25	18	11	105.0
Score 4	28%	23	25	15	9	93.5
<u>Expellees and "Natives":</u>						
Expellees from East	17%	10	40	19	14	125.0
Indigenous Germans	20%	19	25	20	16	122.5
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
<u>Members</u>						
Men	30%	27	24	11	8	83.5
Women	22%	27	27	16	8	96.5
<u>Non-members and None in Family:</u>						
Men	27%	20	26	16	11	101.0
Women	15%	16	25	24	20	141.0



## APPENDIX

Questions used in this study:

1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
The Germans are generally recognized to be the most skilled and diligent workers.
2. Do you believe that some races are more fit to rule than others?
3. Do you believe that some races are less worthy than others?
4. Would you work under a Jew?
5. Would you be against having a Jew live in the same house with you?
6. Would you work with a Jew?
7. Would you be against having a Jew live on the same street with you?

Basic Table Used for Objective  
Estimate of Frequency of  
Anti-Semitism

Intensity Score	Content Score							Total	Cumulative %
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6		
14	50	207	171	195	45	48	31	63	810 100
13	17	159	147	130	53	37	55	36	634 73
12	10	78	106	140	54	61	35	36	520 52
11	5	38	75	81	46	37	25	19	326 35
10	3	25	74	70	37	29	35	8	281 24
9	1	18	45	26	30	25	14	13	172 15
8		3	37	31	17	12	9	1	110 9
7			15	15	13	5	7	2	57 5
6			7	7	9	7	2		32 3
5			7	2	1	2			12 2
4			3	6	4	9			22 2
3				2	2	2			6 *) 1
2					6				6 *)
1					3				3 *)
0					10				10 *)
Total	86	528	687	705	330	274	213	178	3001
Cum. %	3	21	44	67	78	87	94	100	
Midpt. Cont. %	1.5	12	32.5	55.5	72.5	82.5	90.5	97	
Med. Int. %	77	65.5	48	49	32	37.5	42	58	

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